

PEACE NEWS

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Hitler's victory

by CYRIL HUGHES

GIVEN the necessary information about the resources of the combatants, it seems clear that an Allied victory—in the sense that the Allied accumulation of mechanical might has proved superior in weight and numbers to the German—could be granted and accepted by reasonable men inside the four walls of a technician's workshop.

But in warfare the obvious is never heeded. War is not war without a mess. Therefore the trial of strength must take place in practice, not in theory, and may the man with most tanks win (as he's bound to). Well, that is victory as the people understand it, and these are the United Nations (secret weapons apart) winning it.

Original ideals

But in 1939 the people meant by victory something quite different. Victory then did not imply a sporting contest with Germany, a sort of timeless Test Match in which each side was to hurl bombs, shells, and the other major products of modern industry at the other until one of them had nothing left to hurl. If on the morning of Sept. 3, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain had stated this to be our aim it would not have sounded nearly so much in keeping with the nature of the day as what he actually did say. Which was, you remember, that we were fighting against "evil things," including brute force.

The immediate occasion of the war, you may also remember, had something to do with the preservation of the territorial integrity of Poland. I will not labour the point . . . I also refrain from doing more than merely recall that in 1939 we were supposed to be fighting against oppression (some Nazi-inspired agitator might mention India), and that we were fighting (though it was always hard to see how) not the German people but only the Nazi tyranny.

Mirage of victory

Whither, then, have our comparatively fine ideals gone? They have vanished in the mad pursuit of the mirage of total victory by military means. Victory in itself is a meaningless term. Victory is a means to an end, not an end in itself. And if the things to be achieved by victory are discarded as a consequence of the means employed to obtain that victory, the victory itself, when it comes, can only be a shameful mockery and a betrayal of the sacrifice of those who fought for it.

Mr. George Orwell once said that Hitler feared the RAF more than he feared the PPU. No doubt that is true of Hitler considered as a man or

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OMINOUS RIFTS BETWEEN THE ALLIES

IT is impossible to deny that the New Year has opened with a revival of German hopes. The dissensions among the United Nations on which the Germans have reckoned have become manifest enough. There is no sign of elementary agreement among them on the concrete details of European policy. The new broom in the USA State Department, Mr. Stettinius, started off the new régime with rapping Britain publicly over the knuckles for her policy in Italy.

A little later, in response to an appeal from the Polish Government for a guarantee of Polish independence within whatever frontiers were finally assigned to her, the State Department gave the cold and completely disconcerting reply that "it was not in accord with the traditional policy of USA to guarantee the frontiers of European nations."

That, coming at the end of 1944, suggests nothing so much as the Bourbons, at the end of the Napoleonic wars, when "they had learned nothing and forgotten nothing." Everything seems to be shaping for a repetition of the position taken by USA vis-à-vis Europe at the end of the last war.

Cynicism reigns

ONE important difference is that the dissensions have developed this time before the war is ended; another is that they are more profound. In 1918 Britain, USA, and France were much more united than the Big Three are today. They shared a common ideology: they were all ex-

appearing from the consciousness of these millions.

The moral confusion that supervenes is appalling; and nowhere are its consequences likely to be worse than in this country, whose perilous distinction it is to mix more morality with its politics than any other country in the world, the USA not excepted. At the present moment, a precarious psychological compromise is achieved, by the process of compensating, by open indignation over Greece, for suppressed distress over Poland. But this temporary compensation will merely aggravate the disease. This country is heading straight for a large-scale mental breakdown.

Settled in Teheran!

NEW YORK TIMES' Raymond Daniell reports that both problems—Poland and Greece—had their roots in Teheran.

"Premier Stalin would not agree to co-ordinate the Red Army's operations with those of his western allies until he had a definite assurance that Britain would support Russia's claim to Polish territory as far west as the Curzon line . . . In Teheran Mr. Churchill and Premier Stalin divided Europe into spheres of British and Russian influence."

"Mr. Roosevelt's part in the deal is not quite clear. It appears that he was not present at the time when Premier Stalin and Mr. Churchill reached their understanding on the division of the Balkans and the partition of Poland."

"When Mr. Mikolajczyk went to Russia he found Averell Harriman, the US Ambassador, a silent observer while Premier Stalin sat as judge and jury. It was Mr. Churchill who did all the arguing for Premier Stalin at that latest Moscow discussion about Poland's future boundaries . . . When Mr. Mikolajczyk pleaded for mercy by asking that Vilna and Lwow be included within Poland's frontiers, it is said, Mr. Molotov interrupted him by saying: 'There is no use discussing that: it was all settled at Teheran.'" (Time, Dec. 25, 1944.)

That seems to fit very well with the former report from USA (in an article by Mr. Forrest Davies) that Roosevelt had given way to Stalin at Teheran in order to win his support for the World-Security Organization.

Record of Plastiras

JUDGING by the record the chief recommendation of Gen. Plastiras for Greek Premier is that he headed the 1922 coup which forced the abdication of King Constantine, and was responsible for the shooting of no less than five of the King's Cabinet Ministers as well as the defeated C-in-C in Anatolia—which has

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Observer's Commentary

ponents of democracy and adherents to the principle of self-determination. No doubt the agreement was to a large extent self-deception; nevertheless, the rift between say Wilson and Clemenceau—to put the breach between the 1919 Allies at its widest—was nothing to the gulf which yawns between Roosevelt and Stalin, or even between Churchill and Stalin.

That is finally made patent to all the world by two events which have followed in quick succession. The Lublin Committee has proclaimed itself the Provisional Government of Poland; and Russia has formally recognized it as such. Meanwhile, Stalin keeps on the throne the king of the utterly corrupt State of Rumania, which sent division after division into war against Russia. This the New Statesman calls "a flexible policy." It is more to the point that it is an unjust and wicked one. Cynicism reigns supreme.

Morality and politics

I AM still being taken to task for criticizing Russia. It seems to me one of the major moral catastrophes of this war that a country which has, rightly or wrongly, become the symbol of so much aspiration, should have indulged in the most startling exhibition of unprincipled power-politics which has been seen for a hundred years. There are now millions of people in Britain and Europe who believe, as a matter of faith, that what Russia does is right. Since what Russia is doing is manifestly wrong, the principal result is that the last glimmering notions of a distinction between right and wrong are dis-

precaution against the possibility that some European areas might remain under German occupation during the coming winter, discussions are now in progress with a view to arranging outside assistance in the event that any Allied populations are obliged to endure another winter under German occupation.

"This is good news. Presumably it would apply to Norway, Denmark, and portions of Poland and Holland."

(End of Food Relief Campaign—page 3.)

HATE

In theory . . .

TWENTY-FIVE-YEAR-OLD Dr. Barbara Simonds, twice widowed by the war, told 2,000 students, aged 15 to 19, at a conference on Jan. 2:

"Without hate I do not think we will be able to bring this war to a final and irrevocable end and build the world for which we are fighting."

Though she referred specifically to "some people who stand in the way of all you want," her remarks have been taken to apply exclusively to Germans.

These comments by some of her hearers, reported in the Daily Mirror, show that her argument was not accepted uncritically:

An 18-YEAR-OLD: "I believe in Christianity—loving your neighbour and enemy. I don't like some people, but I don't hate them. I think the lady doctor went off the track a bit."

A 16-YEAR-OLD: "I believe you should hate your enemies. How else can you fight them and the wrongs they do? In peacetime, however, hatred is another matter."

A 15-YEAR-OLD: "It's a horrible idea to learn hatred. Hatred is only a combination of fear and anger. Get rid of fear and you get rid of hatred. If I lost two husbands in war like Dr. Simonds I should feel the same way, perhaps. But I'd try to bottle it up."

. . . and practice

And here is proof that, in the sixth year of war, ordinary men and women may still find it impossible to hate when they meet a beaten foe face to face:

From the Daily Express, Jan. 4:

SALFORD city councillors cheered and applauded their mayor, Alderman John Binns, when he gave an explanation at their city council meeting yesterday of his recent visit to a German prisoners' ward at Salford Royal Hospital.

Letters have been received at the town hall during the week, many of them criticizing his action.

In his explanation the mayor said he had been paying the normal Christmas visit to the hospital, where he handed gifts to the patients, and to British and Allied soldiers.

"Afterwards," said the mayor, "I was asked to see the German prisoners, and was handed into the net—I cannot call the ward anything other than a net, for I had the shock of my life in this respect. I have seen animals in nets and I pictured at the back of my mind that these young German boys were trapped."

He said that the sight of one of the Germans suspended on medical apparatus resembling a cross prompted him to shake hands with another of the prisoners.

"I hope that my action lighted a candle in Germany, and made them realize that the British nation wanted them to become decent, honest citizens," he said.

"I have never hobnobbed with the Germans, but I have received letters which paint me a black villain indeed. But there is no villain in me, and I hope that my friends still think the same of John Binns as they did before this incident. My act was a Christian one."

The leaders of both political parties in the chamber expressed the council's support.

★

From a correspondent on a lonely farm in Scotland:

WE have three Austrian prisoners who come down here almost every day to work on the farm. They don't have a guard and they are very pleasant and hard-working and have in two weeks done more here for the cause of pacifism than I could ever do.

Everyone now accepts them and laughs and jokes with them, and sees dimly that there is some frightful mistake going on somewhere. As Mrs. F., the farmer's wife, said to me, "You can't help feeling sorry for them. They may be our enemies, but for all that they seem to be human beings like the rest of us."

* * *

("Where it was really like Christmas"—page 2.)

Washington discusses further food relief

THIS delayed message from Dr. Howard Kershner (chairman of the Temporary Council on Food for Europe's Children) dispatched from New York on Nov. 17 is reported by the Food Relief Campaign:

"We are cheered by a communication from the State Department in Washington assuring us that, as a

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Dec. 29: £37 3s. Total to date: £671 16s. 6d. Donations to the Fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

LEFT! RIGHT!

THE public, and the Press, find it very hard to keep a level head about the European situation. The ideology of class-warfare, the conception of an irreconcilable cleavage between Right and Left, seems day by day to be undermining men's belief in the liberal tradition. That this should happen even among pacifists is untoward. For pacifism exists, in a form that is permitted to be vocal, only by virtue of the liberal tradition: and when pacifists allow their minds to be captured by the assumption that the class-war of Left and Right is the fundamental and untranscendable reality of European politics, they are in danger of digging their own grave—in intellectually and morally.

The increasing susceptibility of the political thought of Britain as a whole to the contagion of Left-Right thinking about Europe is ominous. As William Blake said: "We become what we behold": and the more Britons succumb to this habit of thought, the more likely it becomes that the political struggle in Britain itself will take a form which denies and excludes the possibility of peaceful solution.

Today the Left in Britain is copious in its indignation over the treatment of Greece, and almost entirely silent about the treatment of Poland. The Right, on the other hand, is indignant about Poland, and acquiescent about Greece. There is no meeting in Trafalgar Square to call for "Hands off Poland!" And yet what has been decided in the case of Poland—to extend it west by driving ten million Germans from their ancestral homes—is fraught with more peril to the peace of Europe than the execution even of Churchill's original policy in Greece. Indeed, had the Poles ever been offered by Russia what the Greeks were offered by Churchill, there would have been no Polish problem at all.

That is not to suggest that the Greek problem would have been equally tractable. What the Poles would have regarded as an offer of remarkable generosity coming from Russia, the Greeks might well have regarded as a measure of compulsion coming from England. That is primarily because the Greeks have a feeling of security under British protection which the Poles have never had in their precarious position between Russia and Germany. The Poles are now conditioned to be thankful for small mercies, the Greeks to be insensible of a fairly large one.

But we suspect that, at bottom, the indifference of the Left about Poland is due to the fact that the arbitrary Left-Right key does not fit the lock. The Poles are a united nation; the Russian attempts to exploit a Left-Right cleavage have achieved only fiasco. The Greeks are not a united nation. But whether the conventional Left-Right key really fits the lock it is much too soon to say. On the whole it appears pretty plain that the majority of Greeks are against the monarchy: but what they positively want is less apparent. It is quite possible that they do not yet know themselves. Whether it is by any means possible to establish an interim coalition government strong enough, and impartial enough, to enable the Greeks to discover and express their will by democratic means is the issue.

One has the sorry feeling that both sides are avoiding it. Neither can trust the other sufficiently to be willing to lay down its arms: both seem to fear unlimited reprisals. The fact that no temporary truce has been established is sinister. The miserable war has been raging now for a month, apparently from the lack of moral will to stop it. No wonder that the Manchester Guardian reports that the wave of optimism caused by Mr. Churchill's success in getting the leaders to the conference table is now succeeded by a wave of black depression. Something higher and truer than Left-Right is required to lift Greece out of it.

MAX PLOWMAN: man of faith

IN reviewing this collection of the letters of Max Plowman,* whom he knew, Mr. George Orwell made the point that Max Plowman in 1916 put the case against pacifism more convincingly than he subsequently put the case for it. The criticism, which has some plausibility, is worth considering.

The case for participation in war, on which Max Plowman acted in 1915, is put in a letter of October, 1916.

"I think it all runs down to responsibility. Not intentionally and individually, but ignorantly (that is, mainly by neglect and also by sanction) and corporately . . . I have my part in the responsibility for the causes that brought about the war. And those I conceive to be chiefly commercial avarice and international antagonism based on ignorance. And I put the commercial antagonism first. Well—I've lived under that without much vocal protest—have profited by it and thereby helped to compel less fortunate neighbours to live lives so devoid of beauty and reflection that they never have had the opportunity of seeing any other vision of the earth but grab and grasp. And gradually the whole system comes to a natural nemesis. What then? Do I suddenly cease to be a part of it because in its complete self-expression I more than ever dislike the look of it?"

But the case against pacifism can never be overcome by a counter-case for it. What is required, to convert a man so fully conscious as Max Plowman, is a new illumination. That came to him, and was uttered in his 1917 pamphlet, "The Right to Live," which appropriately gives its name to the whole volume of his collected essays. And the essence of the illumination is in a couple of sentences from a letter of the time.

"Lately, I've felt what I can only call the pressure of Life: like a spirit of infinite beauty hovering everywhere waiting only our recognition to become fruitful in us of all we most desire—waiting for everyone—and yet the one power never recognized by those in authority over us . . . No one has yet drawn the moral from the war that there is nothing else worth having but the Kingdom of God which is within you and that the attempt to gain any-

*Bridge Into the Future. Dakers. 25s.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

1866 — 1944

ROMAIN ROLLAND, who died in France on Dec. 30 at the age of 78, was one of the great pacifists of our time. Men between fifty and sixty will not easily forget the revelation which the early volumes of "Jean-Christophe" brought to them in the years before the last war. While the demonic forces were mustering for the clash of arms between Germany and France, a Frenchman of genius was giving immortal and imaginative expression to the significance for universal human culture of the German spirit, as uttered in Lessing, Goethe and Beethoven.

Though Rolland, representative of the finest spirit of European liberalism, detested German militarism, he strove manfully and successfully to hold himself "Above the Battle" during the war of 1914-18. His book of that name, composed of articles which appeared in the *Journal de Genève*, earned him the expected vituperation of the false patriots. Patriot in the true sense Rolland was; and his close collaboration with Charles Péguy—in whose "Cahiers de la Quinzaine" Jean Christophe was published—expressed the universality of France better than it was expressed before or has been since. If ever the blessed time comes when French and German achieve true understanding and friendship, Rolland and Péguy will be honoured as the prophets they were.

Perhaps Rolland reached his height as an inspired pacifist writer in the novel "Clérambault" written between the wars: it was "the history of a free conscience during the war," and its irony was powerful and terrible. The grim legacy of hatred and stupidity left by the war to corrupt the post-war life of Europe left Rolland dismayed but undaunted.

He turned more and more to the interpretation of the great modern Indian teachers, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Like Gandhi himself he had been deeply influenced by Tolstoy; and, of all European prophets, he was one who most closely corresponds to the Mahatma, whose friend he was.

Just as he embodied a spiritual reconciliation between France and Germany, so in the larger field he represented a reconciliation between Europe and the East. He was a universal man. We owe him homage.



MAX PLOWMAN

by

J. Middleton Murry

thing else besides the fruits of the spirit yields only increasing misery."

That is not an argument. It is a statement which is either meaningful or meaningless. The deep conviction of its truth took Max out of the army. He was in the fullest sense of the word "converted" to "the Faith called Pacifism."

TO generalize from this would be unwarrantable. But to understand it is quite necessary to an understanding of Max Plowman and his pacifism. Just as his argument for participation in the war of 1914 was 25 years in advance of his age—and is the argument reasoned valid by advised participants in this war—so the faith to which he was converted by his own special illumination is incapable of being contained in any particular creed.

If he uses the phrase "the Kingdom of God" it has no specifically Christian meaning; it is "the pressure of Life" towards a vision of infinite beauty that awaits only men's recognition to become creative in them. Probably it was not essentially different from the mystery of the Kingdom as Jesus experienced and preached it, but it has singularly little to do with ecclesiastical interpretation of that mystery. It is worth noting that Max was 33 years old when the illumination came to him.

One other illumination was crucial in his life: one that he had much more difficulty in expounding. It occurred

between him and his first-born son, Tim, during the little boy's illness. Here is the description of it in Max's own words.

"Soon after Tim fell ill, he became as a great light to me. Overwhelming every kind of weakness and bodily distress, there shone out from him to me a light of love that seemed to bear us both into a world of pure happiness. It was a world of triumph over death and hell; and then I knew that whatever there was of life that was not love was delusion . . . Then came all the wonder of my discovery that the physical body is literally and actually dependent on the spirit for its sustenance—that in short, loving old Tim, I could actually mediate physical life to him by feeding and sustaining his spirit. And when I found this out, not theoretically but actually, in repeated instance, then I began to walk on air: for it was as if a new heaven and a new earth were in process of creation . . . It only remained to tell everybody. And then—picture it. Friends, with whom one thought one had been intimate, were suddenly 'kind,' and gently aloof, as one is with a wounded animal that one fears may snap."

I did not know Max at the time. I met him first, some eight months after. But it is more than possible that I should have been of the darkness which comprehended it not. Indeed, I am not sure that, even now, I truly understand.

That the love between him and his boy did really sustain the boy, I have no doubt: or that the relation then established between them belonged to Eternity and not to Time. But that this power could be used to overcome disease, as it were, at will—this I cannot believe. Eternity and Time may and do intersect; nevertheless, they are, to me, essentially incommensurable. Eternity may transform Time; but it cannot make it timeless. To conquer Death is not to make Death less inevitable. At least, so it seems to me.

I SPEAK of this, first because this second illumination was of cardinal importance in Max's life, and second because from this arose what ever misunderstanding there was, at any time, between us. Maybe, I speak my own condemnation. But it is best to be honest.

Whether Max had a greater faith in the power of Love than I have, I find it hard to say. But the power which he attributed to Love was somehow different from that which I do. Love to me is the power by which creatures are seen in the light of Eternity. Max seemed to believe that Love was dynamic in a different sense: that it could make the corruptible incorruptible in Time. Perhaps that was what Jesus himself believed.

However that may be, Max was a man of faith. I have known none—in the pacifist movement or outside it—of greater faith, of more human faith. The effort to move mountains may have broken his body: it left his spirit unquenched and unquenchable.

Where it was "really like Christmas"

By MARY M. SIMPSON

THE only place where it was really like Christmas was the German ward! This declaration, by a nurse of a Scottish hospital containing both German and British wounded, would surprise those who believe that "Nazis" are all a meaner kind of satyr or buffoon.

Indeed the point the nurse stressed was that elsewhere behaviour tended to be too like that which we associate with a saturnalian feast, whereas in the German ward it was "like Christmas." The nurse allowed that, of course, it might be very misleading. But the Germans had taken pains to decorate their ward, although they had been given only the "left-overs" of decorations.

They had made a Christmas crib out of a Red Cross packing-case. The straw therein had been used to thatch the roof. The figures were beautifully modelled from glitter-wax. Beside "Maria" and Joseph there were the animals, even little chickens. There was a ladder leading up to the loft.

When the nurse went in the prisoners were trying to make candles for their crib from glitter-wax and string. That was on the day before Christmas Eve, and she resolved to buy them a little lamp, but said nothing about it. Upon her entry the prisoners bowed and smiled, and when

their crib was admired they talked about it.

There was a Christmas tree, cleverly contrived from a walking-stick and fir branches, and decorated with a star and coloured balls.

THEIR GREETINGS

A little table was spread with a cloth of white lint embroidered with red and gold tinsel thread lettering—"A Happy Christmas," and on this were spread cards to the staff: "To the most amiable nurses; greetings from the German prisoners" (the nurses are good to them); "To the most amiable doctor" (still true); and "To the most amiable sister" (not quite so true, she is red-headed and Vansittart-ish. Still, maybe that will soften her!)

On Christmas Eve the nurse brought a lamp for the crib. The Germans received it with much courtesy and pleasure, one boy explaining to those who had no English that they had got this welcome gift.

That night the nurses went round all the wards singing carols. When they came to the German ward they were listened to with attention. Thanks and pleasure were conveyed in bows and smiles. Then the Germans sang "Silent Night" with care and beauty.

The nurse thought it very hard to believe that they had been soldiers even, as she watched the earnest boy-faces—and unreal and incredible the stories of their German background. And yet the brutality and stupidity are facts—but so is the good behaviour of this ward, and it certainly makes haywire of Vansittart notions.

Food Relief Campaign comes to an end

THE Food Relief Campaign of the Peace Pledge Union ends on Saturday, Jan. 20. The PPU will carry on work for food relief through its new Public Action Committee, and associate it more closely with other efforts to influence the European settlement. Peace News hopes to publish food-relief news from time to time.

The Campaign goes out, not with a fizzle but a bang. Recent news that controlled relief is going to German-occupied Holland and the Channel Islands, and that Swedish relief to Norway has been doubled, is sufficient proof that our work has been along the right lines and that our efforts have not been altogether in vain.

But the Campaign itself also wants to finish in good style. Our parting gesture to those who have worked with us so long, so loyally and so well takes the form of some material with which to carry on the work, and also what Dick Sheppard would have called a "beano."

NEW PUBLICATIONS

On the last day of its existence, Jan. 20, the Food Relief Campaign will publish the sixth—and last—pamphlet in the series "Famine and Food Relief in Europe," surveying developments from "D-Day to 1945" (price 4d.); and two new posters.

One is an impressive black-and-white designed by Arthur Wragg (a reduced reproduction was published in PN recently). The other is a two-colour poster designed by Stanley Vincent (who was responsible for the Campaign's shop displays and the excellent Kershner posters). The wording is "Food for Europe. The Time to Feed the Hungry is When They're Hungry. Send More Food Now." The price of the posters will be 9d. for that by Arthur Wragg and 4d. for the other.

FAREWELL CONCERT

The "beano" is a Farewell Concert in the Concert Hall of the Guildhall School of Music, John Carpenter Street, London, E.C.4, near Blackfriars Tube, at 3 p.m. on Saturday, Jan. 20. This is a private gathering for PPU folk and Food Relief Committee workers only. There will be some reserved seats for provincial people, but there is accommodation for 200 only and anyone who arrives after 2.50 p.m. will stand a very poor chance of getting in.

Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears are performing for us a programme including works by Purcell and Schubert and Britten's own setting for Seven Sonnets of Michelangelo and some charming Folk Songs. Another famous pacifist musician, Michael Tippett, will make the opening speech. Vera Brittain, Chairman of the Campaign, will speak in the interval, and Dr. Alex Wood will be there with a farewell message.

We are not putting prices on the seats. Admission will be by programme, on sale at the door, for which the minimum charge is 1s. There will be no collection. We want people to give whatever they can afford for the Souvenir Programme, bearing in mind that they would be lucky to get seats for a London concert.

cert by these musicians for 7s. 6d., that this is the last opportunity of expressing thanks to the Campaign Committee for more than three years' hard work, and to the artists for giving their services. Donations will go to help future PPU work on food relief and other matters.

There will be about 100 unreserved seats. Doors will open at 2.30 sharp and those who come earliest will stand the best chance. About 100 seats will be reserved for people coming from outside the London Area. We want to ensure that anyone who makes a long journey can get in. Seats will be reserved for provincial people only if they notify us by post that they are coming, so that the reservation reaches Dick Sheppard House before the day of the concert.

LOOKING BACK

It has been my very great privilege to work for the Campaign since it began in 1941. Inadequate as thanks in print must always be I could not conclude these notes without saying how much has been owed to Howard Whitten who was for two years Joint Secretary of the Campaign, to Ronald Smith who succeeded him on Campaign staff, and to Alan Staniland who has been the long-suffering and unobtrusive midwife to most of our forty or fifty publications. It is satisfying, I think, that Ronald should have organized this Concert and that Alan and Howard should have designed the Souvenir Programme. But the circle widens so quickly how can we properly thank the PPU people in Bookshop and Accounts, the Campaign Committee for its patience and foresight, voluntary helpers like Stanley Vincent and provincial workers like Peter Whitaker and Mary Harland?

It has been, above all, an eventful Campaign. I remember the afternoon in the House of Lords in January 1942 when, at our suggestion, Lord Ponsonby and the Bishop of Chichester made the plea that secured the first shipment of food through the blockade to starving Greece. I was behind bars when Howard, later in the same year, made a huge success of the Campaign's Trafalgar Square Rally.

There was the whole experience of the two-day fast at the end of 1943, with the dramatic news the next day that relief for Greece was to be increased as we had prayed. There was the morning on which we heard from the Belgian Prime Minister that the Kershner Plan had been adopted by Belgium, Holland, Norway, and France. And, in these last weeks, the feeling of a rising tide of public opinion behind the appeal we were formulating against an increase in British rations while Europe still starves.

I expect Jan. 20 to be a worthy climax to these and other memories of the Campaign.

I personally believe that the Campaign, which started when public action by the PPU was almost at a standstill and our frustration was turning in destructively upon ourselves, has played no small part in the revival of the best tradition of PPU public work. It has been the longest, the most ambitious and—mainly through the lavish hospitality of the Editor of Peace News—the best-informed Campaign in our short history.

ROY WALKER

RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

P.P.U. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE eighth annual general meeting of the PPU will be held at Friends House, Euston Road, London, on April 28 and 29.

Particulars will be announced later in Peace News and through the Group Letter.

It should be noted that the following "latest dates" will be adhered to: Area resolutions, nominations for National Council, and application for voting papers from local returning officers to be received at Dick Sheppard House by first post on TUESDAY, MAR. 13.

Voting papers to be returned to Dick Sheppard House by local returning officer bearing a postmark not later than MONDAY, APR. 16.

Tickets for Group Representatives will be issued up to Apr. 17, but it would be helpful if application forms could be sent in by Mar. 13 if possible. Individual members' tickets will be issued up to Apr. 24.

To group secretaries

John Barclay is free to accept speaking engagements on Feb. 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7, and can also take bookings for the last two weeks in February and for March. Please write to him direct at 64 Ellerton Rd., London, S.W.18.

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 107

The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again, and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. . . . A further objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavour to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted, consumed in the contest.

—Mr. Gladstone, in a speech in 1880.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS

Maximum size, 3 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

Space for displayed advertisements in Peace News is limited; most of it is booked well in advance of publication. Prospective advertisers will help to avoid disappointment by asking for space to be reserved at least 3 weeks ahead.

January 12, 1945, PEACE NEWS—3

P.S.U. is "finding its feet"

The annual report, 1943-44, of Pacifist Service Units records not only the continuation of the process of specialization noted a year ago—Units have concentrated "on long-term service to their neighbours, and each Unit has now decided which particular aspect of the social problem demands the full-time attention of its members"—but also the realization that such long-term work demands that PSU should be able to regard itself as a permanent body, with appropriate financial stability.

The need for Units in the London area to resume air-raid relief work, with the advent of flying-bombs, found that progress in the direction noted above had not reduced the capacity of the organization to cope with emergencies. But the chief interest of the report lies in the evidence it provides that PSU is indeed "finding its feet and that, after four years of development and experience, it has a positive and distinctive contribution to make in the establishment of a sane post-war world."

AWAITING COURT-MARTIAL

Francis J. Davies, a Quaker from Cardiff and a brilliant pianist, is under close arrest awaiting court-martial at a unit in the Midlands. He was a student at the Royal Academy of Music, but his scholarship there was broken by his call-up for the Non-Combatant Corps, in which he refuses to serve.

Francis Davies had been removed from the Register by his local Tribunal, and after a hearing lasting nearly two hours he was given non-combatant duties by the Welsh Appellate Tribunal on Dec. 10, 1943. He had originally registered for the RAF, but after some difficulty was allowed to re-register provisionally as a conscientious objector more than two months after his medical examination.

"P.N." confiscated

A letter from a Services reader published in War Commentary, Dec. 30, states:

"After our pay parade we were submitted to a personal search, and a turn-out of my pockets revealed two copies of War Commentary and two copies of Peace News. These were confiscated, and now I understand it has been reported to higher authority. The New Statesman, incidentally, was handed back to me. No explanation was given."

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BOURNEMOUTH Post-War Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Road, Jan. 19, 7.30 p.m. Patrick Figgis: "National Reconstruction."

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slowly going nuts, would be consoled compare notes with girl pacifist in similar state. Interests: the land, art, music, writing, and the land, Berkshire. Box 775.

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HITLER'S VICTORY

(continued from front page)

even as the head of a State. But if Hitler is considered as the embodiment of those inhuman ideas of social organization associated with his name, he has nothing at all to fear from the RAF. That is the kind of weapon he understands. It merely serves to confirm him in his folly. Tyranny will always employ such means, and such means will always produce tyranny.

Nowhere, incidentally, is our moral collapse more clearly indicated than in the present policy of the RAF—which would not, I hope and believe, have been tolerated by the British public in 1939 or 1940. The worst crimes of the Nazis do not surpass in horror and atrocity the obliteration attacks upon Europe in general and Germany in particular by Allied bombers. Materially, such raids may indicate our victory over Hitler. Morally, they represent Hitler's victory over us.

Accepting Hitler's ideas

For, economic aspects apart, Hitlerism as we understand it implies an irrational pursuit of sub-human aims to the exclusion of all moral scruples. Our aims of unconditional surrender and total victory must be included in this category. Our acceptance of the principle that the bombing of British people is a crime whereas the bombing of Germans doesn't matter is in fact an acceptance of Hitler's doctrine of *Herrenvolk* and *Untermensch*.

In domestic policy, too, our surrender to Hitlerism is almost complete. Liberty is bound hand and foot by a mass of new regulations much easier to knot than to untie. In the first four years of war over 9,000 Statutory Rules and Orders were issued. The new age is the Age of Conscription. Life is conscripted completely, wealth very incompletely. Labour is conscripted for the service of private profit.

So do we emulate our enemy. Our leaders have never disliked fascists as such. They have even sought allies amongst them. And lately, by a supreme stroke of irony, the two arch-enemies, Hitler's Germany and the western capitalist democracies, have come out into the open and met on common ground. For Hitler has decreed that Germans must not fraternize with Allied soldiers. And Eisenhower has decreed that Allied soldiers must not fraternize with German civilians.

Tyrannies may oppose each other. But the greatest enemy of all of them is the ordinary, common, decent man everywhere, and the ordinary, common, decent things he is likely to do if left to himself. And so they agree in issuing a similar "No fraternization" order to their peoples. Yet still we believe that we have the victory over Hitler!

In reality this country was defeated the moment it decided to go to war. For by believing that the sorry series of events leading to the situation of September, 1939, could possibly be overcome or undone by war, Britain proved herself incapable and unworthy of victory. If our leaders are sincere, we can only deny their understanding of the situation. And if war was the only thing they could understand in 1939, perhaps the type of victory they will ultimately achieve is the only type they can understand, too. But by no human standard can it be called victory. The wheel is come full circle. The main danger to the peace of Europe today comes not from Germany, but from the United Nations, especially the Big Three, militarily during the war, economically and politically afterwards. That this fact is vigorously denied by most of the members of the United Nations is simply the measure of the calamitous extent of our defeat.

FRENCH PACIFISTS UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION

The first direct news from France since German occupation began is reported by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in its Quarterly News-letter. It takes the form of a crowded postcard from Henri Roser (who early in the war was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for refusing military service).

The postcard gives news of members in various parts of Europe and reveals: "Every month we have held a gathering of the Fellowship in Paris with from 25 to 30 present."

Henri Roser also says: "The worst experience for us has always been the atmosphere of falsehood in which everything has been submerged and which made one feel quite sick."

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A "war of liquidation" in Greece?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

embittered Greek political life ever since. In 1923 he "advised" King George to leave the country. He is, in short, a perfect example of the would-be dictator, who has succeeded in establishing himself for brief periods on two or three occasions.

That his record is anti-monarchical is true enough: it is the record of a *condottiere* who pretends, on occasion, to be a Republican. As the butcher of Royalists he may conceivably be welcome to EAM and ELAS; but it would throw an unhappy light on their aims if he were.

"War of liquidation"

It can only be with British backing that Gen. Plastiras is so uncompromisingly sticking to the "unconditional surrender" demand to the opposition.

A strongly worded leader in *The Times* (Jan. 9) shows concern over the apparent abandonment of a more constructive approach and over the "distasteful possibility . . . that British support and supplies . . . will be mobilized, again as a decisive factor, in the 'war of liquidation' which Gen. Plastiras has threatened to declare." *The Times* adds:

"This is a plan of campaign which can provide no conceivable settlement of the Greek conflict . . . at the end the civil war would remain to spring up again with the eventual withdrawal of armed British aid . . . It is not necessary to take sides in this tragic dispute in order to maintain that a solution by force, with British troops and war-like supplies instrumental in the victory of one faction, can bring no possible release."

Meanwhile a report in the same issue that it is "the official view" (in Athens) that EAM has disintegrated into the individual parties which formed it, leaving "a straight issue between the Communists and the Government" does not encourage hope.

What is Fascism?

It may be remembered that while Gen. de Gaulle's headquarters were still in London there were disquieting reports of the activities of his secret police organization. M. Pascal Copeau—son of the famous Jacques Copeau, original editor of *La Nouvelle Revue Française* and director of the *Vieux Colombier* theatre—who is a distinguished member of the Resistance in France, made a fierce attack on this institution in a meeting of the Assembly on Dec. 28. It is now called DGER (Direction Générale d'Etudes et de Renseignements).

"Copeau accused it of assuming unconstitutional police functions which should belong to the Ministry of the Interior. He alleged that this body was establishing control over its private corps in a manner not explicable by military needs, and asked whether it was true that it possessed a prison where some hundreds of inmates were unconstitutionally detained. Did DGER mean Direction Générale des Ennemis de la République?"

"To this M. Tixier (Minister of the Interior) indignantly replied that such a suggestion should not in any form be made about an organization for which the President of the Provisional Government was responsible. Copeau's entire speech was suppressed by the French censorship." (*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 30.)

The defence, and the censorship, speak for themselves.

Roosevelt's tactics

THE USA, having deliberately held aloof from all policy commitments in Europe, now appears to be thoroughly indignant over the results of its aloofness. Or, anyhow, the American Press is. What is happening in Poland and Greece is cited as proof positive of the return of power-politics to Europe: which, of course, it is. But since it was the business of the USA to prevent this return of power-politics, and it was certainly in its power to do so, the indignation is uncalled-for. Roosevelt appears to have given the whole show away at Teheran.

As far as one can see at the

moment, he has prepared for himself an even more bitter defeat than Wilson's. By trading USA recognition of "spheres of influence" in Europe against Russian support (very cautious) of Dumbarton Oaks he has permitted a situation in Europe which must force into political alliance both the isolationists and the idealists in USA.

It now seems highly dubious whether Dumbarton Oaks, in any form it is likely to assume, can secure the approval of the US Senate. Mr. Roosevelt the politician seems to have dugged the pit into which Mr. Roosevelt the idealist will fall. On top of all this to let it be known that the Atlantic Charter never did exist as a formally signed document adds the final touch of fantastic comedy.

American responsibility

THE total situation, from the political angle, is about as sombre as it is possible to conceive. There is not the least pleasure to be derived from saying "I told you so": for the consequences of this insane war involve us all. It is natural enough for *The Economist* and *The Times* to read USA a well-deserved lecture.

"If America does not clearly show that she intends to share responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, Britain and Russia must make their arrangements without her. To make a settlement which depended on American participation—and that participation not be forthcoming—would be disastrous." (*The Times*.)

But who believes that, if USA had clearly shown the kind of peace she would be willing to guarantee, Stalin or Churchill would have been content with it? Anyhow, the die is cast. Britain and Russia have already made their arrangements. France, too, apparently.

"Gen. de Gaulle was also reported to have brought back from Moscow Russia's agreement to a plan to amputate the Rhineland from the Reich, and convert it into an independent State under international, mainly French, supervision." (*Time*, Dec. 25, 1944.)

LETTERS

Theory of democracy

The basic principle of democracy appears to me to be the right of the individual to "contract out." Most pacifists and all COs have exercised this right in refusing conscription and if they are prepared to demand it, it is only reasonable that they should agree when others seek to contract out in other matters. It follows that COs and pacifists should be democrats and not, as Michael Gardner states in your issue of Dec. 8, "totally opposed to democratic principles."

Democracy is, of course, a much-abused word—I suspect often intentionally. Personally, I mean by it a form of government whereby the will of the people prevails and is sovereign, and not necessarily government of the people by the people. At present the choice available to the people is between conservatism and socialism in one form or another, both of which are techniques for gaining certain ends (or should I say, for not gaining them?). Now the vast majority are incapable of understanding, let alone judging between techniques, and should confine themselves to judging from results exactly as an individual satisfies his wants in the matter of, say, clothes. He knows nothing of the technique of weaving or tailoring, but he knows what he wants and he would be a fool if he came out of the shop with a suit of plus fours if he wanted a lounge suit!

Applied to government, the same argument holds good and the main thing required to make democracy function is agreement among the people on the chief issues. (At least in the beginning it is as well to walk before you run!) The current issue, politically, is Security or Freedom with the dice heavily loaded by the BBC and the Press in favour of the former at the expense of the latter. There is no reason, except that "the power behind the throne" doesn't want it, why this issue should not be Freedom and Security, and when the people of this country cease to vote for things about which they know nothing—i.e. techniques—and become enlightened enough to demand both these things and to judge by results, then and then only will there be something approaching democracy in fact and not merely in theory.

R. G. MACFARLANE

75 Castlemilk Crescent,
Glasgow, S.4.

Reaction in Greece

If "Observer" is really unprepared to discuss the cause for which British ammunition is being used in Greece, he would do well to refrain from further comment on the struggle. The analogy he draws between the Athens police and the Paris Gendarmerie is absurd. It was fortunately not left to the Churchill Government to attempt to re-establish fascist tyranny in France.

The political consequences of the attitude which "Observer" has championed promise to be as disastrous as would have been the return of the Greek King. He is entitled to come to the conclusion that George of the Hellenes proved his anti-fascist sympathies in the Italo-Greek war, but he surely does not expect us to believe that the King was "the acknowledged leader of his country in the resistance."

Your paper gives precious little encouragement to those who deplore the truculent demand that ELAS should surrender unconditionally. Your leader (Jan. 5) warns us that the majority of the Greeks are peasants and therefore not wanting a "popular" government. That seems an inadequate excuse for tolerating a tyranny! So were the people of Spain peasants. If eight years of the European civil war has left Peace News unable to discern when British influence is being used to legitimize reaction, it would be wise to give place to those equally sincere and more perspicacious democrats who have died on the battlefields for freedom.

DONALD PORT

21 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.

Peace and democracy

It seems that John Eliot's second thoughts are better than his first, for although he impugned my statement that peace should not be identified with democracy, he now writes, "Nobody would suggest that parliamentary government is a cure for war"; actually it was a suggestion of that kind that engendered this controversy. Apparently he supposes that when in 1878 the crowd were shouting the Jingo music-hall song (and smashing Gladstone's windows in war-fever) they were really chanting a peace ditty. Curiously still, he credits me with admiration for Bismarck, but that gentleman was a good patriot and nationalist, and as such would be excluded from my gallery of heroes.

Liberal-democracy is praiseworthy for having upheld (in theory) individual freedom, but unfortunately it stands also for "national independence," and fails to perceive that these two ideals are incompatible.

War resisters should shed the superstition that Liberals or democrats have some particular affinity for peace. Were Asquith and Grey more pacifist than Salisbury? Is Winston Churchill (in his Conservative days) worse in prolonging this war than Lloyd George was in prolonging the last? The truth is that whether patriots are labelled Conservative, Liberal, Labour or Socialist—or even Catholic—has no significance in international war. Ignorance, stupidity, prejudice, war-fever may be absent from the individual, but are characteristic of the crowd, and the counting of heads is a poor guarantee of peace. Even Norwegians (a big majority of them) reputedly ultra-pacific and democratic, preferred nationalism to peace 40 years ago.

JOHN NIBB

This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.

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